UNITED NATIONS TRANSITIONAL AUTHORITY IN CAMBODIA

"The Cambodian people have endured enough suffering. They must be given the opportunity to determine freely their own political destiny and to enjoy the peace, stability and well-being to which they have aspired for so long."

Boutros Boutros-Ghali, United Nations Secretary-General
Report on the Work of the Organization, September 1992

The United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) was established by the Security Council on 28 February 1992. Since the deployment of UNTAC in March 1992, the Secretary-General has kept the Security Council informed of the developments through periodic reports. Highlights of these reports are presented below, followed by a description of the mandates and main activities of the seven components of UNTAC from March 1992 through February 1993.

BACKGROUND

The Agreement on a Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict was signed in Paris on 23 October 1991, at the final meeting of the Paris Conference on Cambodia. It was the culmination of more than a decade of negotiations in which the United Nations had been closely involved from the outset.

The Agreement, also known as the Paris Agreement, invited the Security Council to establish the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) and to provide it with the mandate set forth in the Agreement. The Council fully supported the Paris Agreement in its resolution 718 (1991) of 31 October 1991, and requested the Secretary-General to prepare a detailed plan of implementation.

Under the Agreement, the Supreme National Council of Cambodia (the SNC) is "the unique legitimate body and source of authority in which, throughout the transitional period, the sovereignty, independence and unity of Cambodia are enshrined". The SNC, which is made up of the four Cambodian parties and is under the chairmanship of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, has delegated to the United Nations "all powers necessary" to ensure the implementation of the Agreement.

The mandate given to UNTAC under the Agreement includes aspects relating to human rights, the organization and conduct of free and fair general elections, military arrangements, civil administration, the maintenance of law and order, the repatriation and resettlement of the Cambodian refugees and displaced persons and the rehabilitation of essential Cambodian infrastructure during the transitional period. The transitional period commenced with the entry into force of the Agreement (23 October 1991) and is to terminate when the constituent assembly elected in conformity with the Agreement has approved the new Cambodian Constitution and transformed itself into a legislative assembly, and thereafter a new Cambodian Government has been created.

Prior to the establishment and deployment of UNTAC, the Secretary-General had recommended, on 30 September 1991, that the United Nations deploy a small advance mission in Cambodia to assist the Cambodian parties to maintain the cease-fire. Based on this recommendation, the Security Council, by its resolution 717 (1991) of 16 October 1991, decided to establish the United Nations Advance Mission in Cambodia (UNAMIC)

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immediately after the signing of the Agreement. UNAMIC became operational on 9 November 1991. It consisted of civilian and military liaison staff, a military mine-awareness unit, and logistics and support personnel. On 8 January 1992, by its resolution 728 (1992), the Council expanded the mandate of UNAMIC to include training in mine-clearance for Cambodians and the initiation of a mine-clearance programme.

ESTABLISHMENT AND DEPLOYMENT OF UNTAC

On 19 February 1992, the Secretary-General submitted to the Security Council a report containing his proposed implementation plan. The Council approved that report and, by its resolution 745 (1992) of 28 February, established UNTAC under its authority for a period not to exceed 18 months. Upon becoming operational on 15 March 1992, UNTAC absorbed UNAMIC.

UNTAC consists of seven distinct components with responsibilities in the fields of human rights, electoral activities, military, civil administration, civilian police, repatriation and rehabilitation.

UNTAC's strength varies according to the phase of operations, with over 21,000 military and civilian personnel present at maximum strength. In addition, UNTAC international staff is supplemented by locally recruited staff. UNTAC is headed by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Yasushi Akashi (Japan). Headquarters personnel in Phnom Penh include executive management, political, legal and economic advisers, and information service and support staff.

Following an April visit to Cambodia, the Secretary-General, in his first progress report, informed the Security Council that despite some delays in deployment, UNTAC had begun to establish itself both politically and militarily.

DIFFICULTIES ARISE

On 9 May 1992, UNTAC announced that Phase I of the cease-fire, in effect since the signing of the Paris Agreement, would be followed by Phase II of the cease-fire (the cantonment, disarming and demobilization phase) beginning on 13 June. However, following this announcement, it became clear that, of the four Cambodian parties—the Party of the State of Cambodia (SOC), the Khmer People's National Liberation Front (KPNLF), the United National Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful and Cooperative Cambodia (FUNCINPEC) and the Party of Democratic Kampuchea (PDK)—PDK was not cooperating. In fact, PDK refused to allow UNTAC forces to proceed with their deployment in the areas under its control and did not provide the necessary information on the number of its troops and *matériel*, in compliance with the Paris Agreement. In explanation of its position, PDK introduced its own interpretation of the provisions of the Paris Agreement relating to the verification of the withdrawal and non-return of foreign forces, and to the role and powers of the SNC.

In a 12 June special report to the Security Council, the Secretary-General stated that, despite the lack of cooperation from PDK, he had concluded that Phase II must commence on 13 June. In his view, any delay would result in a loss of momentum and would jeopardize UNTAC's ability to organize and conduct elections as scheduled. The Council endorsed the Secretary-General's position and called upon all parties to comply strictly with the commitments they had accepted, including cooperation with UNTAC.

At the Ministerial Conference on the Rehabilitation and Reconstruction of Cambodia, held in Tokyo on 22 June 1992, an informal "proposal for discussion" was drawn up. The proposal set out a number of measures designed to meet some of the concerns expressed by PDK and thus to facilitate its participation in the full implementation of the Paris Agreement without further delay. In a series of meetings of the SNC, three of the Cambodian parties accepted the proposal for discussion. However, PDK did not; instead, it introduced its own proposals.

Since the actions of PDK seriously compromised the ability of UNTAC to adhere to the

timetable laid down in the implementation plan, the Secretary-General, in his 14 July report to the Security Council, offered two possible courses of action: to suspend the operation until all parties comply with the Paris Agreement, or to pursue the process, thus demonstrating the international community's determination to assist the Cambodian people despite the lack of cooperation from PDK. As the Secretary-General considered the latter to be appropriate, he requested his Special Representative to press forward with the regroupment and cantonment process in a manner that would ensure that the parties cooperating with UNTAC did not suffer a military disadvantage *vis-à-vis* PDK. He noted, however, that this process, with the cooperation of only three of the parties, could not continue indefinitely. Further efforts, therefore, would have to be made by all concerned to persuade PDK to join Phase II of the cease-fire and to cooperate with UNTAC.

By resolution 766 (1992) of 21 July, the Security Council approved the efforts of the Secretary-General to continue implementing the Paris Agreement despite the difficulties, and demanded that PDK permit the deployment of UNTAC in the areas under its control and implement Phase II of the cease-fire as well as other aspects of the Agreement. It also requested the Secretary-General to ensure that international assistance to the rehabilitation and reconstruction of Cambodia from then on benefit only the parties fulfilling their obligations under the Agreement and cooperating fully with UNTAC.

DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS CONTINUE

On 21 September 1992, the Secretary-General submitted to the Security Council his second progress report on the activities of UNTAC, in which he stated that, despite the continuing refusal of PDK to grant UNTAC access to the zones it controls or to commit its forces to cantonment, the implementation of the mission was proceeding apace in other areas.

The Secretary-General pointed out that having carefully reviewed what UNTAC had accomplished so far, as well as the obstacles it had faced, he remained convinced that the electoral process should be carried out in accordance with the implementation timetable. As UNTAC had consistently stressed, the door remained open for full and constructive participation by PDK in the peace process and the UNTAC Military Component stood ready to undertake the cantonment of PDK forces, the National Army of Democratic Kampuchea (NADK).

Meanwhile, the Secretary-General said, UNTAC would press forward with the implementation of all the other provisions of the Paris Agreement, including those concerning the verification of the withdrawal and non-return of foreign forces and the cessation of outside military assistance to the Cambodian parties. This might require an increase in the number of checkpoints within the country and along its borders with one or more of the neighbouring countries, as well as appropriate modifications in the manning of those checkpoints and an updating of their mandate. More intensive military investigations and patrols might also be required.

At the same time, the Secretary-General stated that the persistent failure of PDK to meet its obligations and the consequent drift in the peace process could not be allowed to continue; some difficult decisions would have to be considered soon regarding ways and means of pursuing the operation. UNTAC would continue to work closely with the parties and the SNC to identify possible solutions within the framework of the Paris Agreement.

The Secretary-General suggested that the Council consider further action to impress upon the parties the international community's firm determination to press ahead with the implementation of the Paris Agreement. He also indicated his intention, subject to Security Council approval, to request the co-Chairmen of the Paris Conference (the Foreign Ministers of France and Indonesia) to undertake, within a definite time-frame, consul

tations with the aim of finding a way out of the impasse or, if that should prove impossible, exploring appropriate steps to ensure the realization of the fundamental objectives of the Agreement.

On 13 October, the Security Council, by its resolution 783 (1992), approved the Secretary-General's second progress report and confirmed that the electoral process should proceed according to the implementation timetable. The Council, among other things, demanded that PDK fulfil immediately its obligations under the Paris Agreement, and invited the Governments of Japan and Thailand, which had been actively involved in finding solutions to the current problems, to continue their efforts and to report the results to the Secretary-General and to the co-Chairmen of the Paris Conference. The Council also invited the Secretary-General to ask the co-Chairmen immediately on receipt of that report to undertake appropriate consultations with a view to implementing fully the peace process. It requested the Secretary-General to report to the Council, no later than 15 November, on the implementation of resolution 783 (1992).

THE SECRETARY-GENERAL REPORTS ON CONTINUING DIFFICULTIES

As requested by the Security Council, the Secretary-General submitted his report on 15 November 1992. He informed the Council that despite intensive efforts undertaken successively by the Governments of Japan and Thailand and by the co-Chairmen of the Paris Conference, PDK continued its non-compliance with the provisions of the Paris Agreement.

In the report, the Secretary-General stated that the cantonment, disarmament and demobilization process had been effectively suspended, due to the difficulties encountered in implementing Phase II of the cease-fire. He also pointed to the cease-fire violations and increased tension in the central and northern parts of Cambodia following artillery exchanges. In addition, UNTAC personnel and helicopters were coming under attack in areas where the NADK forces were known to be present.

Given the situation in the country, the Secretary-General concluded that the Security Council faced two difficult decisions.

The first was what further action should be taken to persuade PDK to comply with its obligations. Diplomatic efforts had regrettably failed. The Secretary-General was aware of discussions as to whether the Council should decide on "specific measures to get PDK to honour its commitments". However, he continued to believe that "patient diplomacy" remained the best means of getting the peace process back on track.

Secondly, the Council had to decide, notwithstanding PDK non-cooperation, whether to press on with implementation of as much as possible of the Paris Agreement, which called for free and fair elections no later than May 1993. The alternatives would be to put the process on hold until PDK's cooperation was secured, or to conclude that it was not possible to pursue the operation and decide that UNTAC must therefore be withdrawn. The Secretary-General considered the latter course to be "clearly unacceptable", given all that had been achieved so far. The idea of putting the process on hold also had to be rejected. Indeed, neither the political nor the economic situation in Cambodia would sustain a prolonged transitional period. Moreover, it would require the international community to maintain indefinitely a large and very costly operation, whose recurrent costs ran at almost $100 million per month. The Secretary-General therefore believed that the peace process must continue and that the elections must be held as scheduled.

However, if PDK maintained its non-cooperation with UNTAC, the elections would take place while a substantial part of the forces of the Cambodian parties remained under arms. That situation did not by itself mean that free and fair elections could not be held; but it would represent an additional challenge to UNTAC in organizing the elections and ensuring the security of candi-

dates, voters and electoral officials throughout the electoral process.

The Secretary-General stated that UNTAC would continue its dialogue with PDK in an effort to meet that party's concerns and persuade it to comply with its obligations under the Paris Agreement. The various components of UNTAC would pursue the implementation of their respective mandates, giving high priority to creating and maintaining a neutral political environment. The Secretary-General expressed his hope that the Security Council would adopt measures to facilitate UNTAC's mission and impress upon the parties concerned that the international community remained committed to see the goals of the Paris Agreement realized.

On 30 November, the Security Council adopted its resolution 792 (1992) endorsing the Secretary-General's report and confirming that the elections for a constituent assembly in Cambodia would be held no later than May 1993. It condemned PDK for failing to comply with its obligations under the Paris Agreement and demanded, among other things, that it immediately fulfil those obligations, facilitate full deployment of UNTAC in the areas under its control, and not impede voter registration or the activities of other political parties in those areas.

The Council determined that UNTAC should proceed with preparations for the holding of elections in all areas of Cambodia to which UNTAC had full access as at 31 January 1993. It requested the Secretary-General to consider the implications which the failure by PDK to canton and demobilize its forces would have for the electoral process and, accordingly, to take all appropriate steps to ensure the successful implementation of the process.

The Council invited UNTAC to establish all necessary border checkpoints, as recommended by the Secretary-General, in order to verify the withdrawal and non-return of foreign forces and the cessation of outside military assistance to the Cambodian parties.

The Security Council supported the 22 September decision of the SNC to set a country-wide moratorium on the export of logs from Cambodia in order to protect the country's natural resources, and requested UNTAC to take appropriate measures to secure the implementation of this moratorium. The Council also requested the SNC to consider adopting a similar moratorium on the export of minerals and gems. In addition, it called for measures to prevent the supply of petroleum products from reaching areas occupied by any Cambodian party not complying with the military provisions of the Paris Agreement.

THE ELECTORAL PROCESS PROCEEDS

In his third progress report on UNTAC activities, submitted to the Security Council on 25 January 1993, the Secretary-General noted a "remarkable success" in the voter registration for the elections. By the end of 1992, nearly 4.4 million Cambodians had been registered, representing over 90 per cent of the estimated total number of eligible voters. With the safe return thus far of a large proportion of the estimated 360,000 Cambodian refugees and displaced persons, it appeared likely that the repatriation process would be completed in time to enable all eligible returnees to take part in the elections.

However, UNTAC's efforts to create and maintain a neutral political environment needed for the holding of elections were seriously hampered by a number of negative developments. The refusal of PDK to participate fully in the peace process had meant the effective suspension of the cantonment, disarming and demobilization of the armed forces of the four parties, with the result that those forces remained under arms in the field. Ceasefire violations had increased, and tension had risen in some parts of the country.

Over the preceding few months, a spate of violent incidents—politically motivated attacks on political party offices and staff, attacks on Vietnamese-speaking persons and killings having no particular political motivation—had also heightened a sense of insecurity among Cambodians. The Secretary-General's Special Represen-

tative publicly stated in November that a free and fair election could not be held in circumstances where people faced threats to their lives, property and personal security for attempting to exercise their political rights.

In addition to investigating these incidents, UNTAC's Civilian Police, Military, and Civil Administration Components, together with the Human Rights Component, had developed measures, including intensive patrols and static guard duty, to prevent and deal with threats to public order. UNTAC had also announced that it would give priority to ensuring freedom from intimidation, freedom of party affiliation and freedom of action for political parties. On 6 January 1993, the Special Representative issued a directive establishing procedures for the prosecution of persons responsible for human rights violations; as a result, UNTAC assumed powers to arrest, detain and prosecute suspects in cases of serious violations.

Since December 1992, there had been several incidents of temporary detention of or attacks on UNTAC personnel in PDK-controlled areas. At the same time, the Secretary-General reported, there seemed to be a growing reluctance on the part of some of the existing administrative structures in Cambodia to accept the control and supervision functions entrusted to UNTAC.

ELECTION DATES ARE SET

In his 13 February 1993 report to the Security Council, the Secretary-General stated that the SNC had set the dates of the constituent assembly elections for 23 to 25 May 1993, with the political campaign running from 7 April through 19 May. UNTAC was proceeding on schedule with electoral preparations in all areas of Cambodia to which it had access as at 31 January. While progress had been made in a number of other areas, the Secretary-General noted the occurrence of a series of cease-fire violations, and an increase in the number of incidents of politically motivated violence in early February. He also reported that neither PDK nor the "National Unity of Cambodia Party", the political party whose formation PDK had announced in November 1992, had filed official registration to take part in the elections.

The difficulties encountered in implementing the military provisions of the Paris Agreement also gave rise to concern. Under the Agreement, peaceful conditions during this period were to be assured by the cantonment of all the forces of the four Cambodian parties, the demobilization of at least 70 per cent of them before the end of voter registration and the continuing cantonment of the remainder, pending their demobilization before or shortly after the elections or their incorporation into a new national army, as decided by the newly elected Government. However, the Secretary-General concluded that PDK's decision not to enter into Phase II of the cease-fire would make it impossible to apply those arrangements. The elections, therefore, would take place at a time when the two largest armed forces of the parties remained mostly intact, with the other two parties still having some of their forces in the field.

For the post-election interim period, the Secretary-General pledged to continue using his good offices, in consultation with the co-Chairmen of the Paris Conference and other interested Member States, to bring all four Cambodian parties to agree, though belatedly, to implement the cantonment and demobilization procedures. However, if these efforts failed, it might be necessary to maintain UNTAC's Military and Civilian Police Components at full strength until the Constituent Assembly had completed its work and the new Government had been formed.

UNTAC ACTIVITIES (MARCH 1992–FEBRUARY 1993)

Despite all the difficulties that emerged in the implementation of Phase II of the cease-fire, UNTAC continued to make progress in implementing other aspects of its mandate.

HUMAN RIGHTS COMPONENT

Function. The Paris Agreement gives UNTAC the responsibility during the transitional period for fostering an environment in which respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms is ensured and where free and fair elections may take place. UNTAC activities in this regard comprise three aspects: a human rights education programme; general human rights oversight of all existing administrative structures in Cambodia; and the investigation of allegations of human rights abuses occurring during the transitional period.

Activities. The UNTAC Human Rights Component has been active in three broad areas. First, it has encouraged the SNC to adhere to relevant international human rights instruments and has undertaken a review of the existing judicial and penal systems in the light of international provisions. Secondly, it conducts an extensive human rights information and education campaign in close cooperation with the Information/Education Division of UNTAC. Thirdly, it continues to investigate human rights–related complaints and takes corrective measures where necessary.

On 20 April 1992, the SNC ratified the International Covenants on Civil and Political Rights and on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. On 10 September, it agreed to accede to the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment; the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women; the Convention on the Rights of the Child; and the Convention and Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees.

By early October, human rights officers had been deployed in all 21 provinces in Cambodia, including in the zones controlled by FUNCINPEC and KPNLF. However, the Component has no access to the zone controlled by PDK.

As part of its efforts to promote the development of an independent judiciary, a major programme of training for judges, defence lawyers and public defenders was initiated. The first course for 60 defenders was completed in November 1992.

Training sessions for officials of the existing administrative structures and professional or activist groups have been undertaken in almost every province. More than 4,000 people in Phnom Penh, in addition to an average of 100 people in each of the provinces, have attended such training sessions. Human rights training has also been introduced into the Cambodian education system. Human rights studies have been incorporated in the curriculum of Phnom Penh University, and a course began on 27 October for 210 law students.

Collaboration with indigenous human rights organizations is an important aspect of UNTAC's work. There are currently five such organizations, with offices in nearly all provinces and with a combined membership reportedly approaching 50,000. UNTAC has provided them with materials, training and expertise as well as small grants for basic office expenses. It also organized an International Symposium on Human Rights in Cambodia, which took place in Phnom Penh from 30 November to 2 December 1992.

Work also continues on prison reform. UNTAC investigates all cases of prisoners whose detention may be politically motivated. A Prisons Control Commission was established and the review by the Commission led to the release in May 1992 of 108 prisoners detained until then without trial; an additional 150 such prisoners were released in August.

ELECTORAL COMPONENT

Function. The elections are the focal point of the comprehensive settlement in Cambodia. The Paris Agreement entrusts UNTAC with the organization and conduct of free and fair general elections, to be held no later than May 1993.

Under the Agreement, the election of 120 members to the constituent assembly will be held throughout Cambodia on a provincial basis in accordance with a system of proportional representation. Every person beyond the age of 18 who was born in Cambodia to a parent also born in Cambodia will be eligible to vote. The Agreement provides for a multiparty electoral system. Voting, therefore, will be for political parties and not for individuals. However, the list of party candidates for each province will be widely publicized. All political parties must be registered by UNTAC in order to participate in the elections. Within three months from the date of the elections, the constituent assembly is to complete its tasks of drafting and adopting a new Cambodian Constitution, and transform itself into a legislative assembly which will form the new Cambodian Government.

UNTAC is responsible for designing and implementing a system for every phase of the electoral process, starting with the establishment, in consultation with the SNC, of a legal framework including electoral law and regulations to govern the electoral process and an electoral code of conduct. Other aspects of UNTAC activities include civic education and training, registration of voters and political parties, and the polling process itself. The Special Representative is assisted in these areas of responsibility by a chief electoral officer. International staff includes electoral personnel at headquarters; personnel at the 21 provincial offices responsible for electoral operations, information, training, communications, compliance and complaints, and coordination; and district electoral supervisors at approximately 200 district offices. Their number will be augmented by some 1,000 international personnel seconded from Member States during the polling process.

Activities. The Electoral Law, which had been submitted by UNTAC on 1 April 1992, was adopted by the SNC on 5 August and was promulgated on 12 August. The registration of political parties began on 15 August. On 27 January 1993, 20 out of the 22 provisionally registered political parties applied for official registration, in accordance with the Electoral Law, by submitting a list of at least 5,000 registered voters who are members of the party.

The voter registration, which began on 5 October 1992, initially for a three-month period, was subsequently extended. When it ended on 31 January 1993, over 4.6 million Cambodians had been registered, representing nearly all the estimated eligible voters in the zones to which UNTAC then had access. UNTAC has not been given access to the PDK-controlled areas, which are considered to be populated by about 5 per cent of the total population of Cambodia.

For the purposes of controlling voter registration, UNTAC has established a computer support system, designed to store up to 5.2 million voter registration records and to produce the lists of registered voters that will be issued to political parties. The finalized and verified voters' list is expected to be produced by mid-April 1993.

On 28 January 1993, the SNC agreed that the elections for the constituent assembly be held from 23 to 25 May 1993. It is foreseen that, during this period, there will be voting at fixed polling stations. UNTAC anticipates, however, that two additional days of voting at mobile polling stations will be required in order to ensure that every registered voter has the chance to vote. Therefore, polling will continue through 27 May.

Earlier, Prince Sihanouk had expressed his intention to participate in a presidential election in conjunction with the elections for the constituent assembly; necessary technical preparations for a presidential election, therefore, were to be made and submitted to the Security Council.

However, these preparations were put on hold when Prince Sihanouk informed the SNC, on 28 January 1993, of his decision that the presidential election should be held after the adoption of the new Cambodian Constitution by the constituent assembly.

MILITARY COMPONENT

Function. The objectives of the military arrangements during the transitional period are to stabilize the security situation and build confidence among the parties to the conflict. The Military Component of UNTAC, headed by a Force Commander, is charged with the following main functions: verification of the withdrawal from Cambodia and non-return of all categories of foreign forces and their arms and equipment; supervision of the cease-fire and related measures, including regroupment, cantonment, disarming and demobilization of forces of the Cambodian parties; weapons control, including monitoring the cessation of outside military assistance, locating and confiscating caches of weapons and military supplies throughout Cambodia and storing of the arms and equipment of the cantoned and demobilized military forces; and assisting with mine-clearance, including training programmes and mine-awareness programmes.

In addition, the Military Component is responsible for undertaking investigations of alleged non-compliance with any of the provisions relating to military arrangements, and to provide assistance in relation to the release of prisoners of war and in the repatriation of Cambodian refugees and displaced persons. At maximum strength, the Component is comprised of more than 15,500 military personnel.

Activities. The Military Component has established 14 checkpoints on Cambodia's border with Viet Nam, two on the border with the Lao People's Democratic Republic and 17 on the border with Thailand. Checkpoints have also been established at the airports and at the port of Sihanoukville, as well as on major routes within the country. These checkpoints give UNTAC the capacity to observe activities in zones controlled by FUNCINPEC, KPNLF and SOC. This is supplemented by regular patrols for discouraging unauthorized movements of armed persons and weapons, deterring banditry and establishing UNTAC's presence.

In accordance with Security Council resolution 792 (1992), consultations were held between UNTAC and the Government of Thailand regarding the establishment and operation of additional checkpoints along the Thai border in the zone controlled by PDK. As a result, procedures are being put in place that would allow, under UNTAC monitoring, a controlled volume of petroleum products from Thailand to enter the zones of only those parties fulfilling their responsibilities under the Paris Agreement.

According to information provided by the four Cambodian parties, their regular military forces totalled over 200,000, deployed in some 650 locations. In addition, militias, totalling some 250,000, operated throughout the country. Those forces were armed with over 300,000 weapons of all types and some 80 million rounds of ammunition.

Although UNTAC had cantoned by mid-November 1992 some 55,000 troops of the three cooperating parties, the refusal of PDK to participate fully in the peace process made it impossible to implement Phase II of the cease-fire and, as a result, the cantonment, disarming and demobilization of the armed forces of the four parties have been suspended.

Under these circumstances, the Secretary-General proposed that the current level of deployment of the Military Component be maintained until the elections, and that the Component focus its attention on enhancing UNTAC's ability to protect voter registration and, subsequently, on the electoral and polling processes, particularly in remote or insecure areas.

The deployment pattern, which was originally based on the requirements of regroupment

and cantonment, has been realigned to correspond with the borders of the Cambodian provinces so as to conform with the deployment, and ensure the security, of the electoral teams. Military observers accompany electoral teams in order to negotiate, where necessary, with local authorities or forces which try to hinder registration. The new deployment, completed on 31 December 1992, is also intended to foster a sense of security among Cambodians in those areas with a higher potential for conflict. In addition, with the winding down of the voter-registration exercise, the Military Component will be asked to assist in UNTAC's efforts to promote a neutral political environment in Cambodia.

UNTAC has continued to devote serious attention to the question of the possible presence of foreign forces in Cambodia. To date, however, UNTAC has not found evidence of the presence of any formed units of such forces in areas to which it has access.

In addition, the Military Component has initiated the training of members of the four Cambodian parties in mine-clearance. Eleven mine-clearance training centres have been established and over 1,600 personnel have been fully trained (see also ***Repatriation Component*** below).

The UNTAC Military Component will continue its patrolling, observation and monitoring duties by land and water and will perform many other tasks, including weapons control and assistance to the Repatriation Component, as well as its essential engineering, demining, logistics, communications and other functions.

CIVIL ADMINISTRATION COMPONENT

Function. In order to ensure a neutral political environment conducive to free and fair general elections, UNTAC is to exercise direct control over existing administrative structures acting in the field of foreign affairs, national defence, finance, public security and information. UNTAC is to exercise, as determined in consultation with the SNC, a lesser degree of scrutiny over other administrative structures that could influence the outcome of the elections. UNTAC's civil administration activities are governed by the Paris Agreement and the implementation plan. They are also guided by the discussion proposal drawn up by participants at the Ministerial Conference on the Rehabilitation and Reconstruction of Cambodia held in Tokyo in June 1992.

In exercising its operational responsibilities, the Civil Administration Component uses three complementary means of control: control *a posteriori*, control *a priori* and appraisal. Control *a posteriori* is achieved through the receipt of all documentation dealing with the operation of the existing administrative structures, including the lines of decision-making, personnel policies and *materiél* questions. Control *a priori* is achieved through the Component's authority to obtain prior knowledge of all decisions reached by the structures, as well as the authority to change decisions dealing, for instance, with personnel, finance and the sale of assets. Control by appraisal is achieved through the proposal of improvements in the operations of the existing administrative structures. On a day-to-day basis, these three means of direct control are exercised in various ways, including the physical presence of civil administration personnel alongside their highest-ranking counterparts in the existing administrative structures, weekly meetings between UNTAC staff and these officials and the establishment of clear lines of decision-making.

Activities. On 1 July 1992, the Civil Administration Component began to exercise full control over the five key areas in the Phnom Penh administration, as specified in the Paris Agreement: foreign affairs, national defence, public security, finance and information. By 15 July, UNTAC civil administration offices had been established in all 21 provinces. By September, there were approximately 95 international staff in the Phnom Penh office and 123 in the provinces. Like the other Components of UNTAC, civil administration personnel have been denied access to the PDK-

controlled areas. In addition, UNTAC has established optional control over other administrative structures identified as having direct influence over the outcome of elections.

In accordance with the implementation plan, the Civil Administration Component requested the four Cambodian parties to submit a list of their current laws for review by UNTAC. With the exception of PDK, all parties complied. At the initiative of UNTAC, the SNC, at its meetings on 20 April and 5 June 1992, adopted laws enshrining the rights of freedom of association and of assembly. On 10 September, the SNC also approved a set of principles relating to the legal system, penal law and penal procedure with a view to establishing uniform standards for the judiciary and for substantive law that would be applicable throughout Cambodia.

CIVILIAN POLICE COMPONENT

Function. UNTAC civilian police monitors are to supervise or control the local civil police in order to ensure that law and order are maintained effectively and impartially, and that human rights and fundamental freedoms are fully protected. The UNTAC Civilian Police Component includes a policy and management unit at headquarters, 21 units at the provincial level and 200 district-level units. The strength of the Component is 3,600 civilian police monitors. This gives an estimated ratio of one UNTAC police monitor in the field to approximately 15 local civil police, or one UNTAC police monitor to some 3,000 Cambodians.

Activities. By the end of December 1992, the UNTAC Civilian Police Component had reached almost full deployment of its personnel, about 60 to 65 per cent of whom were assisting in the voter registration process. The Component operates in Phnom Penh and at the provincial and district level. It also conducts regular patrols in villages.

UNTAC provides the local police with training in basic police methods and traffic-control procedures. Special instruction is also given to police officers and judges in the implementation of the new penal code adopted by the SNC on 10 September 1992. On 27 November, UNTAC awarded graduation certificates to 84 Cambodian police officers, including 24 officers from PDK.

The Component's duties also include directing the efforts of the local police force against the growing problem of banditry in the interior. It participates, in cooperation with the Military Component, in supervising the checkpoints and patrols of the existing police forces in sensitive areas. A number of weapons have been handed in to UNTAC civilian police monitors, who help to man UNTAC's border checkpoints. The Component also assists in promoting a neutral political environment in Cambodia; in February 1993, it instituted the static guarding of political party offices considered most likely to be attacked after dark.

REPATRIATION COMPONENT

Function. It is anticipated that some 90 per cent of the estimated 360,000 refugees and displaced persons will be repatriated under United Nations auspices. The repatriation and resettlement is an inter-agency effort, under the overall authority of UNTAC. The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), which acts as the lead agency, oversees the movement of returnees, the provision of immediate assistance and food, and a reintegration programme. The Repatriation Component of UNTAC is headed by a Director, appointed by the Secretary-General and reporting to the Special Representative as well as to the High Commissioner.

Activities. The repatriation exercise began on 30 March 1992; by mid-February 1993, over 300,000 refugees and displaced persons had returned to Cambodia under United Nations auspices, and without any major incidents. The remainder were expected to be repatriated by the beginning of April 1993.

UNHCR is making every effort to advise returnees on the situation prevailing in their communes of final destination, particularly when they are unsafe or inaccessible. While most returnees so far have been repatriated to areas administered by the Phnom Penh authorities, more than 10 per cent of them have been transported directly, at their request, to the KPNLF zone. Some 3,000 persons have also been repatriated to the zone administered by FUNCINPEC. A few thousand persons have registered their desire to return to the PDK-controlled areas.

The programme of Quick Impact Projects (QIPs), jointly managed with the United Nations Development Programme, was introduced and is progressing successfully. By mid-January 1993, some $3.4 million had been disbursed out of a total of more than $9 million earmarked for QIPs in the UNHCR programme. The main areas of activity are infrastructure, health, provision of water, agriculture and education.

Despite efforts to diversify the options for the returnees—such as offering them cash instead of land and building materials—the shortage of available and safe land continues to raise concern. The slow pace of mine-clearing and continuing disputes over land ownership contribute to the scarcity of land, which is compounded in some parts of the country by the prevalence of banditry and malaria.

On 10 June 1992, the SNC, at the initiative of UNTAC, established a Cambodian Mine Action Centre (CMAC), a non-profit Cambodian institution, to carry out programmes in mine awareness, mine-marking, mine-clearing and related training. The Director of the Repatriation Component was appointed as the *ad interim* Director of CMAC, whose Governing Council held its first meeting on 4 November. In a related development, UNHCR, in July 1992, signed with the non-governmental organization Handicap International an agreement that provides for the recruitment of Cambodian mine-clearance personnel trained and supervised by UNTAC.

REHABILITATION COMPONENT

Function. The Declaration on the Rehabilitation and Reconstruction of Cambodia was one of the three instruments comprising the Paris Agreement. Chronologically, the rehabilitation phase runs from the signing of the Agreement and the establishment of UNTAC until the formation of a new Cambodian Government following free and fair elections.

The Rehabilitation Component of UNTAC focuses on food security, health, housing, training, education, the transport network and the restoration of Cambodia's basic infrastructure, including public utilities. The Component's Director, appointed by the Secretary-General and reporting to the Special Representative, ensures effective coordination of rehabilitation activities, and makes ongoing assessments of needs. In addition, the Director has responsibilities related to raising resources through donor contributions.

Activities. Shortly after the establishment of UNTAC in Cambodia, a Technical Advisory Committee of the SNC was set up under the chairmanship of the UNTAC Director of Rehabilitation in order to facilitate the approval of projects by the Cambodian parties. At the Ministerial Conference on the Rehabilitation and Reconstruction of Cambodia, held in Tokyo in June 1992, the international community pledged nearly $880 million in aid to Cambodia. By the end of January 1993, over 40 projects representing some $360 million had been approved by the SNC.

However, the Secretary-General reported that the actual level of disbursements by early 1993 stood at no more than $95 million. Further, the lack of funding for certain specific sectors, including training and maintenance of essential social services, also gave rise to concern that these deficiencies might compromise the overall rehabilitation effort. These issues of concern were discussed at a meeting of donors in Phnom Penh on 25 February 1993. The participants recognized the need for speedy disbursement of the commitments

made in Tokyo; reviewed the emerging priority needs; and agreed that arrangements be made for meetings, following the elections, of the International Committee on the Reconstruction of Cambodia (ICORC)—a consultative body envisaged under the Paris Agreement to monitor the international community's contributions to the reconstruction of Cambodia.

In the area of Cambodia's natural resources management, the SNC established on 23 July 1992 a Technical Advisory Committee, as suggested by UNTAC, for reviewing and examining the different contractual arrangements relating to the exploitation of natural resources such as timber stock and gem mines. On the Committee's recommendation, the SNC, on 22 September, instituted a country-wide moratorium on the export of logs—a decision supported by the Security Council in its resolution 792 (1992). Accordingly, the Governments of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Thailand and Viet Nam announced in December 1992 that they would impose a complete ban on the import of logs from Cambodia beginning on 1 January 1993. However, UNTAC border control teams recorded a total of 46 violations of the moratorium between 1 January and 5 February 1993, not counting similar activities in the PDK-controlled zone. On 10 February, the SNC, on the proposal of UNTAC, agreed that the Technical Advisory Committee should also determine a ceiling on the export of sawn timber in 1993.

Despite continued objection by PDK, the SNC, on 10 February, adopted a moratorium on the export of minerals and gems. UNTAC is currently making preparations for the implementation of this decision, which is scheduled to take effect on 28 February 1993.

Also in 1993, the SNC approved the proposal made by UNTAC in collaboration with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) for the establishment of a National Heritage Protection Authority of Cambodia to coordinate efforts aimed at protecting and administering the physical cultural heritage of Cambodia.

INFORMATION/EDUCATION ACTIVITIES

The Information/Education Division of UNTAC is engaged in informing the Cambodians of the essence of the Paris Agreement and UNTAC's role, objectives and activities. After two decades of fighting and isolation, many Cambodians are little aware of the international community's efforts to assist their country. Many are sceptical about the applicability in Cambodia of basic concepts of human rights, including free and fair elections and multiparty political campaigning. The flow of information between UNTAC and the grass roots, therefore, is considered essential to UNTAC operation.

UNTAC has established its own radio station and, on 9 November 1992, it began broadcasting from a Phnom Penh–based transmitter loaned by SOC for UNTAC's exclusive use. The broadcasts concentrate on information regarding voter registration and the electoral process, but also feature human rights and other aspects of the UNTAC mandate. In addition, under arrangements made with the Thai Foreign Ministry and Voice of America (VOA), UNTAC materials are broadcast via a VOA transmitter in Thailand at prime time twice daily. With the exception of PDK, the radio stations maintained by the three other Cambodian parties have cooperated with UNTAC by broadcasting information on the peace process and the United Nations role.

The Division has undertaken a range of other activities to keep the Cambodians informed and to counteract negative propaganda aimed at UNTAC. These include the production of audio-visual material in the Khmer language, which is distributed throughout the country by UNTAC military, police and civilian personnel. UNTAC also produces a variety of information materials for public display to encourage full participation in voter registration and to illustrate the work of UNTAC.

COMPOSITION OF UNTAC

UNTAC military and/or civilian police personnel are provided by Algeria, Argentina, Australia,

Austria, Bangladesh, Belgium, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Cameroon, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Egypt, Fiji, France, Germany, Ghana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Malaysia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Russian Federation, Senegal, Singapore, Sweden, Thailand, Tunisia, United Kingdom, United States and Uruguay. Other components of UNTAC consist of staff members of the United Nations and its specialized agencies, as well as others seconded from Member States.

FINANCIAL ASPECTS

The total cost of UNAMIC and UNTAC for the period from 1 November 1991 to 31 July 1993 has been estimated at approximately $1,600 million. Initially, the General Assembly appropriated an amount of some $840 million for the expenses of UNAMIC and UNTAC, through 31 October 1992. As at 30 November 1992, contributions outstanding to the UNAMIC and UNTAC Special Accounts amounted to approximately $215 million.

On 22 December 1992, the General Assembly decided to appropriate a further amount of some $484 million for the continued UNTAC operation for the period from 1 November 1992 to 30 April 1993. As for the period from 1 May to 31 July 1993, the Assembly authorized the Secretary-General to enter into commitments at a rate not to exceed approximately $242 million.

In addition, repatriation and resettlement of refugees and displaced persons, as well as rehabilitation assistance, are funded from voluntary contributions. At the June 1992 Ministerial Conference on the Rehabilitation and Reconstruction of Cambodia, some $880 million was pledged for these activities (see ***Rehabilitation Component*** above).

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